hunts by chasing the bear into a trap set with spring bows. This custom also applied to fishing and in Kondō Juzo's *Sō Ezochi Go Yōgai no gi ni tsuki Kokoro e Sōrō Omomuki Moshiage Sōrō Kakitsuki* [*SECG*] [An Investigation of the Strategic Importance of the Ezo Area as a Frontier] he refers to salmon fishing in Ishikari as follows, "During the winter the Ezo make fishing nets with their hands, organize a band and fish in rivers and at the shore." [25] The Pannakuro area along the Ishikari River was the common fishing ground for the upper river or Yūbari Ainu and the lower river or Yaushipa Ainu.[26]

This mutual aid was seen in distribution and utilization as well as production. In the *Tokachi Shū Ryakusetsu* [Outline of the Tokachi Region] it says, "A country was like a district, a district like a village, a family . . . therefore in hunting and fishing they cooperated and they distributed to those unable to work." In the *Watarishima Hikki* [Watarishima notebook]:

There was no borrowing and lending. For shelter, they built their own houses, cutting down available trees and grasses and the whole village rendered aid. For clothes, they stripped trees of bark, weaving them into bark cloth which they wore. Food they obtained by themselves. It has been said that there are no Ezo who die of starvation but if any do the wealthy and poor perish together after the rich have exhausted their resources in supporting the poor. In daily life not even a glass of wine is enjoyed alone. They dined together and shared what they had to eat with everyone at the table. When there was very little food it was given to the old or to the children. For the old and feeble or those seriously ill who had no one to look after them food was carried to them at each meal. Whenever there was successful catch in the hunt or from fishing all friends and relatives were invited for a treat as we do.

From the *Ezo Miyage* [27] [Souvenirs of Ezo]:

A surplus of food was always shared with others, no matter how small the amount. Women, when gathering for a smoke share the pipe with three to four persons. After one took a puff it was passed on to the next. When wine was drunk it was shared with all those present.

According to Shiikutoyotarek of Yūrabu every one of the villages went out to fish during the salmon season and distributed their catch among all and when someone killed a bear he would summon his village folk from a long distance around and they, meeting him and presenting him with homemade millet cakes, would be given a share of the meat. The meat to be distributed was cooked and the people went to the home of the hunter with receptacles for their share. However, the portion of meat given might differ according to the

[25] *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* (Complete works of Kondō Morishige), 1: 36.

[26] Nagata Hōsei, *Hokkaidō Ezogo Chimei Kai* (An analysis of Hokkaidō Ezo place names), 75, and Takakura Shinichirō, Nototorio danwa Kikigaki (Transcript of talks with Nototorio), *Hokkaidō Shakai Jigyō*, No. 37.

[27] Hizuka Kisei, *Ezo Fūzoku Isan* (Collection of Ezo customs) 1: chap. 8.

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
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was termed *Kaihō*, a term indicative of the trade relations between the two parties. The *Ezo Sōshi* described this trade: "Kaihō meant 'trading' in that region.[e] Rice, sake, tobacco, and other goods were given them as gifts. Since these were gifts, the Ezo, in return, offered presents. Thus was the trade carried out." It was then a primitive sort of trade, the *Chigyōsho* giving gifts to the chief and the chief, from a sense of what was required, presenting the *Chigyōsho* with presents in return. Maki Tadaemon, a spy for the Tsugaru clan, reported on it as follows: "When three large barrels of sake were served to the nine chiefs who came on board, they were most pleased and, to express their gratitude to the Tsugaru *nishiwa* (a noble personage or samurai from the mainland), they offered bear skins, storks and even three to five pieces of dried whale meat." In a report from a tax office at Akkeshi found in the *Kimura Shikyō Hikki* [Notebook of Kimura Shikyō], "In regard to *Kaihō* with the Ezo here, whether or not any goods were presented, they were always loaned a sho or two of rice." Now from the standpoint of the dignity of the *Chigyōsho* such a loan was treated as *Kaihō* although compensation was always anticipated. Here was a trade that had evolved from a formality to an economic transaction. The *Ezo Miyage* emphasizes this, "Among the various gifts tobacco was actually given away but the other items were produced one by one it being the custom to receive something in return for each. Yet it was ridiculous to calculate the price of goods given as presents since something was given in return." This form of trade was, no doubt, a continuation of the old form of trade at Tsugaru or Matsumae. The basic Matsumae-Ainu relationship was one of making profit by trade at bases most convenient for the assembling both of natives and of Japanese boats. Ezo territory was, in effect, a commercial colony of the Matsumae. It is not sufficient to view the Matsumae monopoly of the Ezo trade and its conduct directly by the clan chief or his retainers as wise only in the economic sense as far as the Matsumae were concerned. An additional benefit was the restriction of disputes which inevitably arose when irresponsible merchants were freely allowed to trade with the Ainu. This Matsumae policy is akin to the treaty policy in North America where boundaries were strictly drawn, mutual intercourse restricted, and the trade controlled by either the government or a few merchants. There the purpose was not only an increase in revenue but also a protective measure for the Indians against unjust traders.[11]

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[e] *Kaihō* is a short form for *Kaihō Sukui Kōeki*—"trade for opening up and assisting." It was always used in reference to the Ainu trade because it was thought of partly as a commerce entered into for raising the native standards of living. The term *Kaihō* came to be used also as names for the local offices of trade and administration.

[11] Seligman and others, *Encyclopedia of the social sciences* 11: 262.

[P. 26(B)]

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people meet again after a long absence. They stand face to face and after shaking hands start talking while, at the same time, patting each other from head to knee. When the Japanese came to the *Basho*, Ezo would be waiting for them and after *Umusha* would start to trade. This is described in the *Tōyu Zakki*: "The Ezo, upon arrival in port of the vessel, would, when the men from Matsumae landed, pat their shoulders or even embrace them to show their feelings." *Omusha* gradually changed into a formality. The change is seen in the *Watarishima Hikki*:

> When the first vessel arrived from the mainland in the spring, there were inquiries and rejoicings about each other's health. After a brief greeting many instructions were given to the natives such as "work hard during the fishing season," "do not make trouble with nearby villages but live in peace with them," "when a ship is in distress lend all the aid you can and never take advantage of the situation to steal." "Then two cups of sake were offered to each Ezo together with pipe and tobacco."

According to this, the gifts were one sided. But when an official was on board the Ezo also presented a gift. The *Ezo no Shima Bumi* [A Journey to Ezo] has a passage on *Omusha* at Kunashiri Island written in 1801, "Gifts from the lord were sacks of rice, sake, yeast, and tobacco. The Ezo offered eagle feathers, *Eburiko* [*fomes officinalis* Fr.] and *Ikema* [*cyanchum caudatem maxim*, swallowort]. Thus, it became a duty of the trade supervisor to collect eagle feathers, animal skins, and Santan products which the Ezo offered in *Omusha*."

As the products of Ezo increased in variety and quantity and as the Japanese stayed longer in Ezo an added custom came to be practiced. This was *"Uetotsukobaku"* or *"Sharanpa"*—a kind of ceremony of closing the trade. *"Uettukopak"* meant to "bid goodby" and *"Sharanpa"* is from the Japanese *"Saraba"* both having the meaning of leave taking. It is described in *Watarishima Hikki* as follows:

> In autumn when all activities in the mountains and the sea come to an end the merchants, before returning to the mainland, give instructions to the Ezo to repair the nets and boats during the winter and to store goods until spring. After that sake is served to the Ezo, including the women and children, and everyone drinks and sings to their hearts' content.

And since these two ceremonies marked respectively the beginning and the end of the trade, it was customary to "check with each native the excesses and shortages in his account so that further arrangements could be made." The *Watarishima Hikki* says that *Omusha* became an autumn event held after the trade was over. "The Ezo in general did not keep count of the days and months and were little concerned by the passage of time. There were some who would drink all day and be in bed for the next three days and at times as much as ten day would be wasted, which was very inconvenient for the Japanese." As the years went by the Ezo became familiar with instructions and since there

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Trade accounts were either settled on the spot or by keeping a record of receipts and disbursals which was settled at the end of the fishing season. The same source notes: "According to the amount of dried sea slugs, goods would be loaned to the Ezo in the summer and in the winter the accounts would be settled. Besides this system there was another called 'cash trade' in which goods were given to the Ezo in exchange for their products when they brought them." In later years this loan system seems to have been the most widespread. There is no doubt that this system provided many ways in which the merchants could deceive the illiterate Ezo. In *Igen Zokuwa* we find that, "among the goods given to the Ezo," during *Omusha*, "one barrel of sake was to be taken into account in the settlement." By this it seems that the already drunken Ezo were given additional sake at the trading party and that this quantity was added to the acounts. In *Ezo Miyage* it says,

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There is an event called *Omusha* in Ezo. Each year between summer and autumn when the Matsumae officials went to their *Basho* they took with them, as presents, several dozen sacks (eight shō to a sack) of rice yeast, one or two bundles of tobacco and one barrel (containing four shō) of sake and gave these to the Ezo of a celebrated family. Among these presents the tobacco was actually a gift but it was customary to take some Ezo products in return for the other gifts. It is strange that they should ask for something in return for that given as a gift.

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In effect this was a loan-in-advance system and it gradually evolved into forcing the Ezo to work for trade goods. This cheating grew into plunder. In *Tsugaru Kibun* the trade situation is described as follows:

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After a deal had been made and the amount agreed upon, as to dried salmon, sea cucumber, and strings of shells from the Ezo and sake, tobacco, and needles from the merchants, a narrow board would be placed on a dangerous spot on the vessel and on this board the Ezo would lay out their goods for counting. The native, although he knows it is dangerous, is stupid enough to place his goods on this board. While he is laboriously counting someone would sneak up behind him and surprise him by grabbing his shoulders. The native would jump up with fright and turn red with anger at this joke but, when offered tobacco or sake, he would forget the whole matter and resume his counting. However, he would have forgotten his previous count and start anew from where he had left off, the result being that those goods left out of the count were free to the merchants.

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A method of counting which lingered into recent times was used by the Ainu and was evidently practiced by them from early times. It consisted of adding "beginning" and "end" to every count of ten and, in effect taking twelve for ten. In *Tōyuki* we note: "The crews of vessels trading with the Ezo were mostly men of poor education and morals who took it for granted that all Ezo were ignorant and cheating and stealing were very common."

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This situation did not change when the contractors started to use the Ezo as laborers which came after the stage of mutual trade. As the use of natives as

1:Takakura H-4, 5 (no date) 1960 AB6 Ainu AB6
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3. Even if the Ezo were on our side, there could be little cooperation since they understand neither our language nor our customs.

He then lists three advantages for Russia:

1. Russia has a cold climate. Their people are used to fighting in the cold and it would be easy for them to come to a place with a warmer climate.

2. The main Russian food is meat. They would have no trouble with a food supply for the Ezo also feed on meat.

3. Since the Ezo are uncivilized and easily impressed by size, they would surrender in no time were the Russians to bring their battleships along.

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He felt that Japan ought to consider itself fortunate that the Russians had not as yet launched an invasion and "should take advantage of this opportunity to cultivate the island, prepare it for defense, educate the Ezo, and make them citizens of our country so that the Russians will not dare to attack." He continues that the Russians are slowly but surely advancing southward and if their movements are not checked the Ezo will come under their sway even if the Russians had in the past had no such intentions. For the fact is that the Russians intend to educate the natives and win them over to their side. If there were no Russian threat it would be all right to continue our easy-going policy in Ezo. But with the situation one of serious concern to the safety of our country we should lose no time in educating these people and bringing them over to our side. At the same time we must teach them that the Russians are to be despised and that their rules and regulations are evil. He states: "while we educate the Ezo we ought to be prepared to defend the island if necessary." He then lists three advantages in educating the Ezo:

1. The Japanese have had contact with the Ezo for a long time and the two people are familiar to each other.

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2. The Ezo have a great love for rice, sake, and tobacco. Since the Russians have little of these, if we refuse to give them to those Ezo who follow the Russians it will soon discourage Ezo-Russian relationships.

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3. Since the ignorant Ezo have a great fear and respect for the sun and the moon they can be very easily handled by telling them of the glorious history of our country, emphasizing the role of the sun and moon goddesses and telling them that it is the desire of these deities that the Ezo become part of Japan. It would be an easy task, he believed, to bring the educated Ezo into subjection. He elaborates his ideas on education and he objects to establishing temples with special priests as their power may become great as in the case of the Ikkōshū [b] sect on the mainland and this would

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[b] The largest and most prosperous of the Buddhist sects possessing at one time thousands of temples and millions of adherents and having great temporal power.

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[village headman]. But in most places the Ezo system was left unchanged. The exception was in areas where the authority of local officials had become so definite that it was necessary to establish new positions to govern effectively the Ezo of the area. Therefore, the titles of *Sō Otona*, *Waki Otona*, and *Sō Kozukai* were created in addition to the existing *Otona* and *Kozukai* and these posts were given to Ezo of noble birth. The *Sō Otona* was the leader of the Ezo within a *Basho*. To this post a person from the most powerful family was appointed. The orders of the government were delivered to the *Sō Otona* for the Ezo. The Ezo appealed to the *Sō Otona* those matters which could not be settled by an *Otona* and only such matters as could not be settled by the *Sō Otona* were brought before the officials.[9] The *Sō Kozukai* had duties similar to those of the *Kozukai* of a village except that he was the *Kozukai* of a *Basho*. While a man's family background was considered in making appointments to this post because of the nature of his duties, it was given to a person with the ability to control his fellows. Another position established was that of *Miyagedori* [gift bearer] who was an ordinary native either physically strong or with a good conduct record. He acted as *Kozukai* for contractors or as guide for officials and travelers and he inspected the exchange of gifts.[10] According to the *Ezo Miyage* this was a post next in rank to *Otona* and *Kozukai* and although the *Miyagedori* received equal treatment and gifts at an *Omusha* it seems that he had no duties similar to those of *Otona* or *Kozukai*. It is probable that this post was awarded to ordinary Ezo or to those who had retired from the position of *Otona* or *Kozukai* and those who held it received privileges equal to those of the other ranks.

4. APPENDIX

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE EZO, JUNE 16, 1799

At this meeting a package of tobacco and some sake shall be served to the Ezo and the interpreter will deliver the following instructions.

1. The *Basho* concerned has been taken over by the Bakufu since May 5. Instructions given from that time by the officer placed in charge must be obeyed without delay.

2. It goes without saying that during the period of Bakufu management full respect is due all government officials whether stationed in Ezo or on tour.

The Ezo will obey the orders of managers, guards, and interpreters as they did during the reign of the Matsumae.

No petition shall be presented directly to government officials. It will not be accepted. Instructions from managers, interpreters, and guards are to be treated as instructions from officials. However, if there is any doubt concerning such orders, it may be brought to the attention of officials who, according to the issue, may take necessary steps.

It should be noted that it is very inconvenient not to understand Japanese since the interpreters may make mis-

[9] Tarao Tadaro, *Chishima Tanken Jikki* (Kurile Islands expedition reports), 73.

[10] *Tsuishikari Sanshi* (History of Tsugaru village), 17-18.

2: Batchelor M-5 (1877-1924)1927
AB6 Ainu AB6

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CHIEF PENRI'S FAVOURITE PIPE-HOLDER
AND TOBACCO-BOX

[P.142(A)]

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

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276 ward, as though throwing some saké into the fire. Dipping the stick once more, a drop is thrown over the left shoulder. These operations are repeated two, three, or more times. The stick is then replaced on the cup, the whole is again raised, and finally the stick is used to lift the mustache while drinking.

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No words can give a true impression of this ceremony. It must be seen in the surroundings of an Aino hut: the shiny, blackened rafters above; the begrimed, bearded faces and unkempt hair, lighted by the faint gleam of a burning wick in a plate of oil, and the fitful flame of a smoky wood fire.

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[276 531]

At Piratori the ceremony was slightly different. I noticed that the famous old chief Benri, who by the way, it may be remarked, speaks of Miss Bird as the "woman to whom he told so many lies," took the largest share of the saké, for he not only had a large cup, but it was filled quite to the brim; while his son was served with a cup but partly filled. One of the men went to the east window and there performed his ceremony in silence, waving his stick three or four times to the east.

[562]

Fig. 78.
Aino Tobacco Pipes.

The women sat behind the men, and the latter, after having themselves drunk, passed the cup behind them to their wives, without turning. But the women do not get much, for the Ainos consider that saké was only made for the gods and men.

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Mr. Batchelor tells us that in drinking saké "three drops must be given to the fire goddess, three thrown toward the east window, and three toward the northeast corner

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

of the hut, where the Aino treasures are kept, and then three drops must be offered to any special god, for whose benefit the libations are offered, or to whom the Ainu are paying worship." I have not observed any such regularity in their proceedings. I should say they were as likely to offer two or four drops instead of three. 273 796 782

The saké drinking at the great Aino bear feast, as witnessed by Dr. Scheube, is described in the account of that festival.

SMOKING APPARATUS.

The smoking apparatus consists of very simple wooden pipes, and tobacco boxes also of wood, attached with cord to long, carved sticks, which may be stuck in the girdle. Several pipes are shown in Fig. 78. The pipes may or may not have a short mouth-piece of bamboo. 276

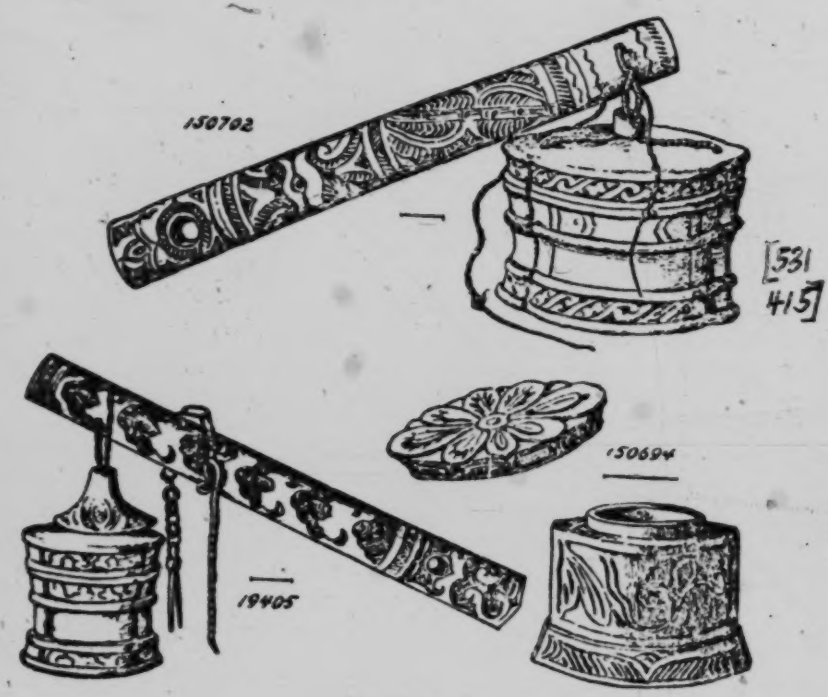

Fig. 79.

TOBACCO BOXES AND STICKS.

The tobacco boxes are usually oval in shape and often very well carved. In Fig. 79 three of these are well shown, attached to their sticks.

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

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[286] *Ohiyo cloth.*—Woven of the bark of the ohiyo or mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, with stripes of blue and bright colored cotton. A very strong durable cloth which has been in universal use by the Ainos, but which is now being replaced by the more comfortable Japanese cotton fabrics. Width, 13 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150665

Loom.—With warp of elm bark and a small piece of cloth woven, showing the reed, shuttle, beater, etc. Weaving is usually done by the women, who sit on the floor and stretch the warp from the beams of the house. (See Fig. 82.) A similar loom arranged for use is shown in the section of textiles. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150666

[291] *Ohiyo belt.*—Belt woven of elm bark on a small loom made for the purpose. Used as a belt outside the coat. Length, 8 feet; width, 1 inch. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150667

[415] *Bark water bucket and dipper.*—Made of birch bark. Used for holding water. (See Fig. 73.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150668

Bark basket.—Made of ohiyo bark with handle of the same bark twisted. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150669

Wooden ladle.—"Kasup." A large ladle used for dipping food from the kettle. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150670

[291] *Ohiyo belt.*—Made of the ohiyo or elm bark, with stripes of colored cotton. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150671

Conical bark bag.—Made of the bark of the linden tree. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150672

[415] *Bark dish for fish.*—Very rudely made by binding the bark into the form of a deep dish and tying the ends with bark rope between short sticks to preserve the shape. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150673

Bark dipper.—Made of birch bark, with a wooden handle. Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150674

[411] *Spear.*—A two-pronged spear used for spearing seals or large fish, salmon, etc. The two points of sheet iron, sharpened, are set in barb-shaped pieces of hard wood, which fit loosely over the ends of the prongs of the shaft, and are held in place by the tension of the bark rope, to which they are securely attached. When the weapon strikes the barbs enter the flesh and become detached from the shaft, but they are securely held by the line until the animal is killed or exhausted. The points are sometimes poisoned. (See Fig. 85.) Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. Length of shaft 15 feet. 150675

Small bag.—Made of the rush *Scirpus*, with a cord to swing over the shoulder. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150676

Ohiyo bark.—The bark of the mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, used principally for making cloth for clothing. The specimens show how the bark readily splits into numerous thin, broad bands or layers, from which long, narrow threads for weaving are drawn, tied end to end, and wound into balls like 150650. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150677

Dried salmon.—Fish cut into long strips and dried over the smoky fire in the house. Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150678

[482] *Carrying band.*—A braided band of ohiyo, used for carrying children and loads on the back. The broad middle part is placed on the forehead, and the ends tied under the burden on the back. Three specimens. (See also 150757.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150679, 150680, 150683

This system of carrying children and loads is universal. The women carry large wooden tubs of water on their backs in this manner. (See Plate CV.)

[276] *Tobacco pipe.*—A pipe 3 feet in length, the usual form, but of very unusual size. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150681

Hoe.—Fashioned from a branch of a tree, the blade being formed by sharpening the stub of the main branch. An extremely rude instrument. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150682

3: Hitchcock N-5 (1888) 1891 AB6 Ainu AB6

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Carrying bag.—Similar to 150676, but larger, made of the rush *Scirpus*, with brown parts of dyed bark, the ends of ohiyo cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150684

Wooden dish.—Octagonal in shape, about 12 inches wide by 2¼ inches deep inside, cut out of a single block of wood. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150685

Wooden bowl.—Circular, excavated from a block of wood, about 10 inches in diameter by 3 inches deep. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150686

Cloth mitts.—Mittens made of Japanese cotton cloth. They cover the wrist and back of the hands only. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150688 [291]

Ceremonial head dress.—A band of dyed bark, braided, about 2 inches wide, to put on the head. Around the outside a band of white, curled shavings pass, with the free ends behind. In front a rude wooden figure, perhaps representing the head of a bear. Squares of purple cloth hang down all around the lower edge. Used by the men when dancing. (See Fig. 87.) Ainos of Piratori, Yezo, 1888. 150687 [292]

Apron.—Made of ohiyo cloth and Japanese blue cotton cloth, embroidered with light-blue cotton yarn. Worn by the women. Ainos of Abashiri, Yezo, 1888. 150689

Inao.—A whittled stick made of willow wood with long, curled shavings hanging down from near the upper end. The lower end sharpened to stick in the ashes of the fire-place or in the ground. Rather more than half way up a few shavings curling upwards on one side. Length, 30 inches. Inao represents the gods, to which prayers are offered. They are found in every house in the corner sacred to the house god, and in the fire-place where the fire god is worshipped. (See Fig. 86.) Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150690 [778]

Inao.—A whittled willow stick with pendant shavings, like 150690, but smaller, and stick plain below with short, curled shavings at the top. Length, 17 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150691

Inao.—A willow stick with pendant shavings, similar to 150690 and 150691, and used for the same purposes. Length, 30 inches. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150692

Broiling sticks.—Stuck in the ashes of the fire-place with fish spitted upon them for broiling. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150693 [252]

Tobacco box and stick.—The box has a lid held in place by the cord which passes through holes down both sides and across the bottom, ending above in a knot at the back of the stick. The stick is thrust in the girdle when traveling. Box and stick carved in native designs. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150694 [276]

Moustache sticks.—Carved flat sticks of wood, plain or lacquered, used to raise the moustache when drinking saké, and for throwing drops of saké as libations to the gods. The lacquered sticks are undoubtedly old. They are covered with Ainu designs, but the lacquering is probably Japanese work. Length, about 13 inches. (See Fig. 77.) Ainos of Shari, Yezo, 1888. 150695–150699 [413]

Parts of an Inao loom.—The essential parts of a loom used for weaving ohiyo-bark cloth. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150700

Shell for lamp.—A shell of the *Pecten* used to hold oil and a small wick, to serve as a lamp. The shell is supported on the end of a three-forked stick set up in the fire-place. The wick is the pith of a plant, sometimes a bit of twisted bark fiber. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150701 [354]

Tobacco box and stick.—Similar to 150694, but much larger. Probably quite an old box. Wires for cleaning the pipe attached to the cord. (See Fig. 79). Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150702 [276]

Tobacco box and stick.—Similar to 150694. Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150703

Red lacquer cup.—Used for saké. Made by the Japanese. Ainos of Yezo, 1888. 150704

Large knife and case.—The knife was obtained from the Japanese. The wooden case is of native workmanship, made in two pieces, bound together with bark, the outside elaborately carved. (See Fig. 76.) Ainos of Yeterof, 1888. 150705 [411] [415]

Bead necklace and copper ornament.—Worn by women. The beads are of glass, blue and white, strung on a cord. The thin copper plate bears a stamped or hammered figure of a person seated on some mythic animal, with leaves of palms [301]

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

to Benry, and asked him to sit to me for his portrait. At first he was very reluctant, but the prospect of receiving a present finally overcame his scruples—for he was indeed civilised in

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BENRY, THE AINU CHIEF OF PIRATORI.

this respect, and understood the worth of his version of the almighty dollar to perfection—and, consenting to be sketched, he sat—at the outset with as much courage as docility. He produced a crown of shavings and seaweed, which he solemnly

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4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

getting filled, and each man that entered first saluted the landlord, then Benry, then myself, and ultimately the two guests between whom he sat. Women and children occupied the darker west end of the hut, and they took no active part in the function. Other chiefs came in, and Benry was surrounded by many of them and by elderly men.

The whole group of these chiefs, with their long white beards, lighted up by a brilliant ray of sunshine, which penetrated through the small east window, was extremely picturesque.

In its savagery it was almost grand, with a barbaric quasi-animal sense of power and irresponsibility. In truth, it was a wonderful sight to see all these hairy people assembled in this small place—men, yet not men like ourselves—men, and not brutes, yet still having curiously brutish traits athwart their humanity.

The performance was simple, but really fine in its simplicity. A fire burning in the centre of the hut, and filling the place with smoke, added, by its suggestive dimness, to the picturesqueness of the scene. It was strange that the only ray of sun which came in should fall on the most interesting group. Was it chance or design? Rembrandt himself would have delighted in painting that scene.

Benry looked every inch a king, and several of the younger men were busily engaged lighting his pipe and refilling it with tobacco. He puffed away at such a rate that no sooner was the pipe filled than it was smoked and handed over again to undergo the same process.

Two large casks of Japanese *sake* were brought in, and each man produced his wooden bowl.

The host came slowly forward, and planted an *Inao*—a willow wand with overhanging shavings—in one corner of the fireplace; then muttered a few words, which implied that the *sake* could now be poured out. A Japanese lacquer rice-box was filled with the intoxicating liquid, and no sooner had this been done than old Benry, forgetting his dignity, jumped up and made a rush for it, filled a large bowl, and retired to a corner to drink it. All the men present followed his example. Benry was never selfish when he had had enough for himself. He filled his bowl again and brought it to me, saying that

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

discard their acquired civilisation for the old, free, untrammelled mountain life; the wild habits of the woods and sea-shore; the nakedness of summer and the stifling squalor of the one small dingy hut in winter; the uncombed hair and matted beard; the putrid flesh of salmon, and the vile compound they revel in till they get gloriously drunk and bestial.

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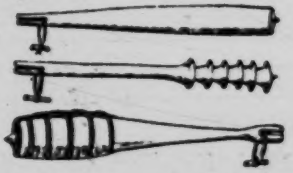
415

AINU PIPE-HOLDER AND TOBACCO POUCH,
AS USED BY THE MORE CIVILISED AINU.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

beside the sheaths and handles of their knives and swords and their moustache-lifters, as has been shown, are the *Tchutti*, or war-clubs; the *Hera*, or netting-mesh used in weaving; drinking-vessels, quivers, pipes and tobacco-boxes, the thread-reeds, cloth-hangers, and graves.

The modern Ainu are not a warlike people, therefore many of the weapons which were used in former days for defence and offence are rarely found now. For instance, the old war-clubs are not used by the present generation. These clubs were long and heavy, and were carried on the wrist by a piece of rope passed through a hole at the upper end. Some were plain and straight, others were curved towards the end to make them heavier. Now and again some carved all over are found. Pieces of leather or rope were often knotted round the heavier part to make the blow more severe. In some of the very old clubs a stone was inlaid to add to the weight and consequent efficiency of the weapon. These clubs are from two to two and a half feet in length, and are made of hard wood.



TCHUTTI, OR WAR-CLUBS.

Ainu bows are simple, and not very powerful. They are about fifty inches in length, and made of only one piece of yew. The arrows, which are poisoned, are of bamboo or bone. The poison is extracted from aconite roots mixed with other ingredients. It is somewhat greasy owing to certain fatty matters which it contains, and is smeared into the cavity in the arrow-point, which has previously been treated with pine-tree gum to fix the poison. The arrow-point is barbed, and so fashioned that when the shaft is drawn from the wound this poisoned point remains.

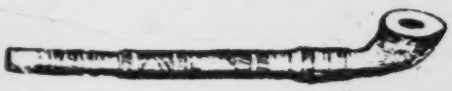
TROUGH IN WHICH RESIN IS KEPT FOR FIXING ARROW-POINTS.

The illustration gives two different kinds of poisoned arrows. In Figs. 2 and 3, the black part in the point shows the cavity filled with poison. Fig. 2 shows how the arrow-head is separated from the reed,

POISONED ARROWS.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890)1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

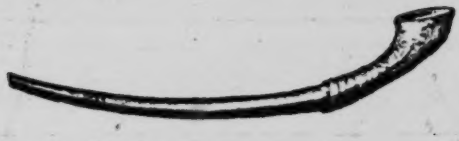
lectual activity, for beyond that point the Ainu brain cannot go. As art in its natural state is merely the pictorial outcome of what the brain has grasped, we have in these crude beginnings another strong proof that the brain-power of the Ainu is indeed very limited, and their inability to represent animal form seems extraordinary in view of what other savages have done; but of course superstition may have something to say to the omission. The Ainu rank very low in the scale of civilisation; they are probably below the Australian blacks and the tree-dwellers of India, who are supposed to be among the lowest races in creation. The Terra del Fuegians and certain African tribes run them hard; but, taken all in all, the Ainu are the furthest behind in the great race of human development.



AN AINU PIPE.

4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

spectators there are none; but it is for the enjoyment of the dancers themselves. The men do not seem to take the slightest interest in the dancing, and apparently regard it as unmanly. They remain in the hut drinking while the girls enjoy themselves in this way outside, and should one of them by chance come out, he would stop and look on no more than men in civilised countries would stop and watch little children at play. On the other hand, on such occasions Ainu matrons squat in a semicircle not far from the dancers, and keep up a lament-like or sometimes quarrelsome conversation among themselves, and occasionally encourage the girls in their hopping, and suggesting *encores* of this figure or that, which, between one quarrel and another, has taken their fancy.



A WOODEN PIPE.

DEATH AND BURIAL

764 [576] (Pl. XXV) after weeping at the feet of the corpse. When this ceremony is finished all wash their hands outside and the funeral feast begins.

[534] The important mourners sit in order along the north wall, and this arrangement is called *pone kiri—samta u-eshopki* (beside the body mutually seated). At the head of the hearth are a few elders [782] specially chosen from the village of the deceased, with elders from other villages opposite. Libations are made to Kamui Fuchi, Nusa-koro Kamui and Chisei-koro Kamui, all with libation wand lowered. This is a slight reversal, except for Kamui Fuchi whose wand is usually lowered. The cup is passed from north to south, the reverse [782] of the ordinary custom, and the wand on its rim is pointed not towards the receiver but to the one who hands it. All guests before [262] drinking point the wand down to give a drop or two to the floor, formerly of earth. The viands, consisting of stew, millet cakes, etc., [177] and now rice and often cheap Japanese sweetmeats, are set on trays [178] with short feet (*otchike*) near the lower hearth. Nowadays *shochu* is offered to all the men and a little to the women, with resulting [273] intoxication and deterioration of ritual observance. The manner of drinking, however, involves three instances of reversal which should be noted.

764 264 At the funeral feast for an elderly person an elder may dance a *tapkara*, which is considered pleasing to the *ramat* of the deceased. A joyous atmosphere is quite proper, but if the deceased is young such behaviour would be considered most unseemly. The elder takes care to dance with his back to the corpse.

[782] The feast includes the presentation to the deceased of a tray with bowls of food taken from the hearth and therefore given by Kamui Fuchi. Relatives sitting beside the corpse and the elders near it partake of food which has been offered to the head of the corpse, all eating with their hands. For a man, or an old woman [276] who likes a whiff of tobacco, a lighted pipe is often placed in contact with the mouth of the corpse.

764 Before the feast begins, Kamui Fuchi's permission is asked to eat it, and when it is finished the elder at (d), who is usually a relative, makes a brief address to Kamui Fuchi. He then proceeds to the head of the corpse, weeps with his hands on the ground and [537] delivers the address to the departed, known as *piyo-itak-kote* (put in last words). This varies with the age, sex and standing of the individual, but it is usual to congratulate the old and commiserate

G SS 276 107 G [554] [321]

/468 cont./ wooden piece. The lower piece, bow-shaped, runs into a small bowl-shaped head, which is turned upward. The upper piece, or mouthpiece, is of metal (brass) only for a common man; every well-to-do Gilyak strives to imitate the Chinese and to procure for his pipe a stone mouthpiece made of jadeite or perhaps even of chalcedony, carnelian, or nephrite, such as are made in the Sungari region (3), especially in Tsitsikar and other places (4).

3. Barabash", "Sungarsk. eksp." (Voen. Sborn., 1874, No. 2, p. 351).

G 276 192

4. The lower metallic piece, with the bowl, is called kott in Gilyak, the mouthpiece ilmf, the wooden middle piece connecting them twamdasir.

A 276 439

The greatest correspondence prevails among all the peoples of the Amur region in the form of the pipe, since the parts making it up always come from the Sungari region, where they are factory-made. Only the Ainu on Sakhalin have differently shaped pipes, because they get them from another source, from the Japanese. I saw pipes of two forms among them: one with a very small head, squared off at the top, into which the tip of the little finger scarcely fitted, and then also one with a larger, bowl-shaped head. In addition, however, they /469/ also make their own pipe heads from the wood of the Hydrangea paniculata Sieb. et Zucc., which are used by the women in particular (1).

A [824]

A [191] [329]

1. Fr. Schmidt, to whom I owe this information, adds that he saw these pipe heads in use even in Kussunai and Manue, even though the Hydrangea paniculata occurs only in Aniwa Bay and on the west coast of Sakhalin south of Notosama. See his "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Petersb., VIIth Series, Vol. XII, No. 2, p. 99).

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